

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 /108 W
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R 201545Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5848
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MOSCOW 18297

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, SP, UR
SUBJECT: PSOE DELEGATION IN USSR - DECEMBER 11-15

SUMMARY: FOR DIFFERING REASONS THE VISITING SPANISH
SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY DELEGATION AND THE CPSU LEADERSHIP,
REPRESENTED BY POLITBURO MEMBER M.A. SUSLOV, BOTH
DESIRED TO HAVE THE PSOE VISIT HERE PORTRAYED AS A FRIENDLY
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AND SUCCESSFUL ONE. THE RESULTING COMMUNIQUE WAS VERY
POSITIVE AND IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE SOVIETS, OLD HANDS
AT THE COMMUNIQUE GAME, CAME OUT AHEAD WITH AN
ENDORSEMENT OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO FREEZE MEMBERSHIP
IN THE WP AND NATO. PSOE GENERAL SECRETARY FILIPE
GONZALEZ MADE SOME OF HIS BEST POINTS DIRECTLY TO
SUSLOV AND AT A PRESS CONFERENCE, ACCORDING TO

SPANISH EMBASSY SOURCE, BUT THEY DO NOT SHOW IN THE COMMUNIQUE. END SUMMARY.

1. SPANISH SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (PSOE) GENERAL SECRETARY, FILIPE GONZALEZ, AT THE HEAD OF A DELEGATION INVITED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, STOPPED IN THE SOVIET UNION DEC. 11-15 ON HIS WAY TO THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS IN TOKYO. IT APPEARED TO BE A VISIT IN WHICH BOTH SIDES, FOR DIFFERENT REASONS, WISHED TO SEE THE VERY BEST FACE PUT ON THE MEETINGS.
 2. THE RESULT WAS, ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE, "A COMRADELY AND FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE" AND "MUTUAL SATISFACTION". ALSO, "DESPITE DIFFERENCES IN IDEOLOGICAL VIEWS AND TRADITIONS" BOTH THOUGHT THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF TIES BETWEEN "PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS" WAS AN ASSET TO THE "INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT". THEY NOTED THAT THEIR VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL MATTERS WERE "IDENTICAL OR CLOSE", AND THE PSOE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO FREEZE THE MEMBERSHIPS OF NATO AND THE WP.
 3. IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE CHARGE OF THE SPANISH EMBASSY GONZALEZ MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS, ACCORDING TO THE FORMER.
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-- THE VISIT TO MOSCOW AND HIS RECEPTION BY SUSLOV, FOLLOWING AS IT DOES HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND MEETING WITH MONDALE, DEMONSTRATES THAT THE PSOE IS TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY THE MAJOR POWERS. CARRILLO'S VISITS TO THE TWO COUNTRIES WITHOUT SEEING THE LEADERSHIP SHOWS HE IS NOT CONSIDERED A MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURE IN SPAIN.

-- THE PSOE DELEGATION PULLED NO PUNCHES WITH SUSLOV. GONZALEZ DESCRIBED THE PSOE POSITIONS FRANKLY WHETHER THEY WERE POSITIONS THE SOVIETS LIKED OR NOT. HE MADE MAJOR PITCHES ON THE NEED FOR SPAIN TO BE "NEUTRAL", TO JOIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, TO AVOID DICTATORSHIP OF ANY KIND, AND TO PREVENT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN SPAIN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MOSCOW 18297

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (GARBLED TEXT)

-- ON NATO GONZALEZ TEMPERED HIS REMARKS ABOUT PSOE
OPPOSITION TO SPAIN JOINING NATO BY INSISTING THAT
ULTIMATELY THE SPANISH PEOPLE WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE
THAT ISSUE AND THAT THE PSOE WOULD ABIDE BY THE
POPULAR WILL.

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-- ON IBERIAN PENINSULA DEVELOPMENTS, GONZALEZ
OUTLINED HIS VIEWS OF THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES IN
PORTUGAL AND SPAIN AND ARGUED THAT THEY WOULD NATURALLY
DEVELOP INTO WESTERN-STYLE DEMOCRACIES AND THAT THE

SOVIET UNION AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES SHOULD RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THIS FACT. ALSO, ALTHOUGH PORTUGAL HAD LED THE WAY THUS FAR, SPAIN WAS THE NATURAL LEADER ON THE PENINSULA AND WOULD ASSUME A LARGER ROLE AS TIME WENT ON, WITH PORTUGAL FOLLOWING SPAIN'S LEAD.

-- THE SOVIETS HINTED TO GONZALEZ, BEFORE THE DELEGATION ARRIVED, THAT THERE WAS A CHANCE FOR A VISIT WITH BREZHNEV BUT GONZALEZ DID NOT ASK FOR ONE AND ON ARRIVAL WAS TOLD THAT ONLY THOSE WHO SPECIFICALLY REQUEST VISITS WOULD BE CONSIDERED FOR ONE.

-- GONZALEZ AVOIDED ANY CHARACTERIZATION OF THE REACTIONS OF SUSLOV OR THE OTHER SOVIETS TO ANY OF THE REMARKS OF HIS DELEGATION, POSSIBLY, OUR SOURCE THOUGHT, BECAUSE GONZALEZ KNEW THEY WOULD GET REPORTED TO PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ.

-- CATALAN PARTY LEADER FRANCISCO RAMOS, THIRD RANKING DEL MEMBER, SPENT TEN YEARS IN A GULAG AND WAS DELIGHTED THAT HIS PRESENCE IN THE DELEGATION MADE THE SOVIETS UNCOMFORTABLE. SUSLOV REPORTEDLY KEPT STARING AT RAMOS THROUGHOUT THE MEETINGS.

4. THE SPANISH CHARGE ATTENDED A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH GONZALEZ DETAILED PSOE POLICY IN THE SAME TERMS WHICH HE CLAIMS TO HAVE USED WITH SUSLOV. THE NATO-RELATED REMARKS WERE, HOWEVER, EDITED BY TASS AND CONFIDENTIAL

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ONLY A STATEMENT OF OPPOSITION TO NATO WAS CARRIED, NOT THE PART ABOUT THE POPULAR WILL. WE WERE TOLD THAT THE PSOE HAS BEEN STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TRIP AND HAS GENERATED CONSIDERABLE DOMESTIC SPANISH PRESS COVERAGE.

5. COMMENT: WITH BOTH SIDES DETERMINED TO MAKE THE VISIT A SUCCESS, IT IS NO SURPRISE THAT IT WAS. THE PSOE AND THE CPSU WERE BOTH TRYING TO USE THE OTHER FOR THEIR OWN ENDS. THE SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN THAT THEY HAVE AN ALTERNATIVE POINT OF CONTACT (AND, THEREFORE, OF POTENTIAL INFLUENCE) IN THE SPANISH LEFT.

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WHAT IS MORE, THE PSOE HAS A SUBSTANTIALLY STRONGER
POLITICAL BASE THAN THE PCE (34 PERCENT VS. 9 PERCENT
IN THE LAST ELECTION), AND MUST BE CONSIDERED THE
MORE SERIOUS POLITICAL FORCE. THEREFORE, EVEN IF
THERE WERE NO PROBLEM WITH THE PCE THE SOVIETS WOULD
WISH TO MAINTAIN, IF POSSIBLE, WORKING RELATIONS WITH
THE PSOE. ALSO, THE SOVIETS HAVE AN INTEREST IN
TORPEDOING ANY ATTEMPT BY CARRILLO TO PLAY UP HIS
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DISPUTATIOUS TRIP TO MOSCOW, AND THE PSOE VISIT WAS
PROBABLY THE BEST WAY TO DO THIS. ON THE OTHER HAND
GONZALEZ' BRIEFING TO THE SPANISH EMBASSY AND WHAT WE
ARE TOLD HE AND HIS FOLLOWERS ARE SAYING TO THE
SPANISH PRESS INDICATE THAT GONZALEZ HAS AMPLE DOMESTIC
POLITICAL REASONS FOR MAKING THE TRIP TO MOSCOW AND

PROVING THAT HE CAN ENTER INTO A SERIOUS DIALOGUE
WITH THE SOVIETS AND EMERGE WITH EXPRESSIONS OF
FRIENDSHIP.

6. WE WOULD ADD ONLY ONE POINT TO THIS, AND THAT IS
THAT IN THE GAME OF COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING THE SOVIETS
GOT THE BETTER OF THE DEAL. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING
SINCE THEY ARE MASTERS OF THE ART. NONE OF
GONZALEZ'S MOST NOTABLE COMMENTS MADE TO THE PRESS --
AND REPORTEDLY TO SUSLOV ALSO -- HAVE FOUND THEIR
WAY INTO THE COMMUNIQUE. THE PROFESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY
AND COOPERATION ARE NOT TEMPERED BY ANY CAUTIONARY
LANGUAGE EXCEPT FOR THE WEAK REFERENCE TO THE
IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES. THE SOVIETS, HOWEVER, DID
GET UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT EXPRESSED FOR THEIR PET PRO-
POSAL TO FREEZE NATO AND WARSAW PACT MEMBERSHIP
WHICH PROPOSAL, OF COURSE, CONTAINS NO QUALIFIERS
ABOUT "POPULAR WILL". THE PRODUCT HAS ALL THE
EARMARKS OF CAREFUL SOVIET DRAFTING AND AN OFFHANDED
APPROACH BY THE SPANIARDS TO A "PIECE OF PAPER."
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